Messenia before the Argolid, and was transmitted in the other direction, although it was never as common as at Ayia Irini or other island sites.

The reviewer is sympathetic to the idea that the burial of items that in their form or decoration have clear or likely Minoan ritual links must have some significance; they are not just diplomatic gifts or acquired through 'trade'. It is not at all impossible that at least some of the new elites of the developing mainland principalities were overawed by the Minoan world-view as encapsulated in the civilisation's religious beliefs and ritual practices, and likely to adopt some of these. Intermarriages between members of the elites might even have aided in this process. However, to go on from that to suggest that the concept of the *wanax*, argued from the Linear B evidence to have been the most important religious and secular male personage in a Mycenaean state, was transferred from Minoan Crete to Mycenaean Greece, and especially as part of the establishment of a state of Pylos, immediately raises the question, what evidence is there for such a figure in Minoan civilisation?

In fact, it is not at all clear that the new and very self-aggrandising elite in the various emerging Mycenaean principalities focussed on single male holders of supreme power, monarchs in fact. That at Pylos several tholos tombs were apparently in use concurrently, and that the 'Griffin Warrior' was not buried in any of them but in a much less impressive grave (not easy to explain if he was the *wanax*), should give one pause before reaching such a conclusion.[9] The establishment of a stable form of monarchy, assuming that it ever was stable, could well have been a process that took generations; in Messenia it may have been associated with the process whereby other principalities were brought under Pylos's control, but the evolution could have taken different forms in the different leading regions.

Overall, then, this book is a mine of information on the archaeological discoveries at and around Pylos in the last generation, including those re-discovered in museum storerooms, and offers intriguing hypotheses concerning matters of the first importance when considering the rise of Mycenaean civilisation. Although these hypotheses raise many questions, it is very useful to be made to consider them, and for all of this we should be very grateful to Jack Davis and Shari Stocker.

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[9] See relevant comments in Dickinson *et al.* 2012: 185-86.

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Joanne M.A. Murphy and Jerolyn E. Morrison (eds) *Kleronomia: Legacy and Inheritance. Studies on the Aegean Bronze Age in Honor of Jeffrey S. Soles*. pp. 310. INSTAP: Academic Press, 2022. ISBN 978-1931534284, $64.95 (hardcover).

Auspiciously titled, *Kleronomiá* (heritage/legacy) is a *Festschrift* designed to mark the most extraordinary achievements in Aegean archaeology of Professor Jeffrey S. Soles, recently retired from the Department of Classical Studies at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro. Soles, who celebrated his eightieth birthday in 2022, is widely known as the co-director of the-excavations on the island of Mochlos, located in Eastern Crete in the Mirabello Bay. For half a century (since the early 1970s), he has played a key role in advancing our understanding of early Cretan societies. All researchers exploring Minoan Crete will, at one time or another, come across Soles' fundamental work *The Prepalatial Cemeteries at Mochlos and Gournia and the House Tombs of Bronze Age Crete*, published by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens in 1992.

Kleronomiá is what makes one an heir to some possessions, mostly land, or a property: as the editors point out (xix-xx), the allotment of the archaeological site of Mochlos (Soles' *kleros*, or lot) to the next generation of scholars is inseparably bound to another legacy; a legacy of Soles' unstinting commitment in developing numerous intellectual, scientific, and human bridges around the globe through his excavation programs, but also his teaching, and diligence and skill in understanding of the societies of the past, having thereby laid an indelible impact on the field. Elements of Soles' career and scholarship are offered with tangible affection by his wife, Mary Ellen Carr Soles (1948-2018), in a foreword (xxi-xxiii), as well as through a selected bibliography of his works, spanning more than forty years of archaeological research (xxv-xxviii).

Embodying a kind of passing-of-the-torch ritual, the volume, created by two editors (Joanne M.A. Murphy, professor of Classical Studies at the University of North Carolina Greensboro, and Jerolyn E. Morrison, lecturer of Art History at Baylor University), compiles twenty-seven wide-ranging papers structured around the core of the honorand's research: the Aegean Bronze Age and, more specifically, the Minoan periods of Eastern Crete. Spanning a wide range of topics, the papers have been coordinated chronologically into five parts, from the earliest developments to the Iron Age.

Surprisingly, the volume opens with a paper that barely refers to the honoured scholar's work, this is a sole study on *The Earliest Humans on Crete*, focusing on the Mesolithic Age of the central-southern part of the island - and I wonder if it may be in the light of Soles' earliest works at Franchthi Cave in 1969, under the direction of Thomas Jacobsen... Whatever the nod may be, in "A Case of Bioturbation at Damnoni Cave", Thomas F. Strasser and his co-authors (Ch. 1) provide additional data to a paper published in 2015 by some of the authors (see Strasser *et al*. 2015 in the bibliography) that presented the preliminary results of 2011 and 2013 field excavations. In their present contribution, they discuss the condition of the stratigraphic units of the cave (well-illustrated in fig. 1.5-1.6), in particular the mixing of Mesolithic stone tools and crumbs of pottery. Various factors (flora, dip - gravity, erosion) may have been responsible for much disturbance, as well as a low-intensity use of the cave for a fireplace during the Late Bronze Age.

In the second part related to the *Prepalatial periods* (Ch. 2 to 5), the first two papers are complementary by treating the broad concern of relationships within Crete (mainly between north-central and eastern regions of the island), and between Cretan and Cycladic cultural groups during the first phases of the Early Minoan period (EM I-II). Contacts and exchanges are evident both in the metal artifacts from three cemeteries located in Eastern Crete (Petras, Hagia Photia, Livari Skiadi) as observed by Susan C. Ferrence and her co-authors in their study of "Silvery Weapons and Precious Jewelry: Early Minoan IB Metallurgy of East Crete" (Ch. 2) as well as in the ceramic record of the East Cretan cemeteries (*ibid.*, p. 12-14) and of a domestic structure at Mochlos in the subsequent chapter by Thomas M. Brogan and Luke Kaiser ("New Beginnings: Occupation at Mochlos in the Early Minoan I Period", Ch. 3), along with the well-known lithic raw material (obsidian). On the one hand, EM II-III metal artifacts from Mochlos contrast with the tradition highlighted for Eastern Cretan sites for the previous phase (i.e. EM IB) and on the other , the recent find of a crucible attests to metallurgical activity in the EM IB phase. That does mean, as they suggest together, that further discoveries of metallurgical activities on the islet of Mochlos are expected and would shed a light on the development of metallurgy in the Early Minoan period. This section closes with two papers by Borja Legarra Herrero (Ch. 4) and Metaxia Tsipopoulou (Ch. 5) that deal with a central concern of Soles' research: the so-called House Tombs, that are the typical Cretan burial-places of the Early Minoan II to the Middle Minoan II periods in Eastern Crete (ca. third millennium to early second-millennium BCE) in the form of a rectangular building with several rooms. Their origin, i.e., whether the "house tomb" architecture was inspired by domestic features, is a matter of controversy, that is concisely addressed by Legarra Herrero, synthesizing evidence presented in his previous studies (particularly a seminal one published by the Institute for Aegean Prehistory [INSTAP] in 2014, entitled *Mortuary Behavior and Social Trajectories in Pre- and Protopalatial Crete*). Here Legarra Herrero stresses how the term "house tomb" fails to express a heterogeneous group of rectangular built tombs, of which the relationship with the dwellings of the living remains still unclear. A detailed comparison among this type of built tombs from three cemeteries in Eastern Crete by Tsipopoulou in the following essay (Gournia and Mochlos in the bay of Mirabello, and Petras, the latter having been excavated by the author) shows, indeed, a strong regional funerary expression to their design and a link to practices that were performed in them, coupled to "a pronounced complexity" (p. 66), that supports a socio-political reading. Despite a methodological quibble induced

by different publication methods, making the understanding of the patterning particularly challenging, Tsipopoulou's paper is a valuable contribution to the discussions of social structure transformation that led to the erection of palaces in East Crete, such as the one of Petras around 1900-1800 BCE, in the so-called Middle Minoan IIA period.

The third part dedicated to the *Protopalatial to Neopalatial periods* (chapters 6 to 19) contains by far the largest collection of essays of which the multifaceted character is very enticing, however, the transition from one topic to another may seem incoherent at first glance, so I have chosen to group together certain chapters with similar underlying themes for the sake of convenience in the present review.

Georgios Doudalis, who has worked on the Protopalatial pottery of Mochlos, offers an interesting comparative and multi-scalar study of ceramic patterns of production, distribution, and consumption in the Mirabello Bay area (Ch. 6). In a period characterized by an increasing number of settlements both in Central and in Eastern Crete engaged in networks at various scales and intensity (Middle Minoan IIB, i.e., ca. second half of the 17th c. BCE), Doudalis suggests that certain social identities, as well as intra- and inter-group and individual stratification, are likely materialized through ceramic types, complexity of treatment and design (like fine ware pottery, and polychrome). Olga Krzyszkowska, whose research has been focused primarily on Aegean glyptic for more than 20 years, exposes thoroughly a particular type of seals bearing ornithomorphic representation(s) in relief executed with a rotary tool (that is, the "Cut Style" birds seals), concluding that it was a short-lived production between the LM IA and the LM IB, probably exclusively Cretan in origin (Ch. 7).

Chapters 8 (Joseph W. Shaw), 10 (Ann M. Nicgorski) and 11 (by the late Costas Davaras) investigate aspects of Minoan imagery and symbolic realm in a refreshing and sometimes provocative way. Shaw examines the significance of Minoan columns beyond the structural support they provide. Nicgorski, aiming to secularise the signifier "Sacral Knot" firstly used by Arthur Evans, offers a diachronic panorama of knot motives in Mediterranean iconography (from the prehistoric to the Hellenistic and Roman periods) concluding, somewhat disappointingly, that its meaning may have varied following the context. Davaras proposes several interesting theses regarding the *Possible origins and meaning of the Minoan Figure-of-Eight Shield* by identifying repeated patterning within contexts, a topic that has recently been explored also by Marianna Nikolaïdou.[1] Davaras notes similarities with signs from "early Elam" (resembling the number 8, shown in fig. 11.9), in Southwestern Iran, and argues convincingly for a Mesopotamian origin of the Minoan motif (instead of an Anatolian affiliation also sensibly suggested by Nikolaïdou [2020, p. 187], for instance) implying a direct or indirect transmission "as early as EM II-MM IA" following the chronology of the earliest examples (i.e., the third millennium BCE). Considering the importance of symmetry and duplicatedness in the Aegean world (double-axes, confronted figures, and reflection - the latter being particularly represented on the gold signet ring, fig. 11.8, on each side of the line) and the thorny issue of long-distance contacts at the dawn of the Minoan times, this study is undeniably interesting and has further research potential.

Dealing with issues that go beyond the title, the ninth chapter by Jesse Obert of the "Role of the Neopalatial Dagger in Mirabello Bay" offers an original view on 15 Neopalatial tested daggers from Mochlos and Gournia that features variation in their chemical composition, from pure copper to bronze alloys of copper, tin, and/or arsenic. By stressing the relationship between the metal content and the object's functions, the author suggests convincingly that daggers served socio-ritual functions tied to the realm of animal sacrifice, in addition to acting as actual weapons. Less convincing is, perhaps, the idea that the "dagger's chemical variability is related to changing ritual practices" (p. 110) considering that variations may result from differences in elemental content of the ore and techniques used to process it (as the author states himself for the smelting furnace conditions of arsenic, in p. 108).

The social part that played out in the practice of consuming food communally - that perhaps followed such animal sacrifice as explored by Obert in the Chapter 9, is explored by Robert Angus K. Smith by closely examining the evidence of two subsequent deposits containing numbers of ceramic vessels, animal bones, and ash, among other things, in Room 13 in the Southwest wing of the Palace at Gournia (Ch. 12). Those deposits, dated respectively to Middle Minoan IIIA and the Late Minoan IB, are highly indicative of feasting events probably

[1] Of which I add here, if it is of some interest for the readers, the bibliographical references: Nikolaidou, M. 2020. "Blessed (?) Charms: The Figure-Eight Shield in the Aegean Arts of Personal Adornment," in *Neôteros: Studies in Bronze Age Aegean Art and Archaeology in Honor of Professor John G. Younger on the Occasion of his Retirement* (Aegaeum 44), ed. B. Davis and R. Laffineur, Leuven-Liège, 2020, pp. 181–192.

linked to, firstly, the erection of the palace (during the Middle Minoan IIIA phase), and, secondly, the consequences of the climatic and social crisis caused by the volcanic eruption of Thera at the end of Late Minoan IA. The author draws an interesting link between changes in ceramics and the evolution of feasting practices over time, in parallel with social and political changes. Another aspect of the socio-cultural life of people who lived during the Neopalatial period at Gournia is presented in the eighteenth chapter by Livingston Vance Watrous, who reassesses evidence for a peak sanctuary located in Stavromenos, high in the mountains of Thriphti, that might have been part of the ritual landscape of the palace situated below.[2] Watrous believes valuably, following a preceding assertion laid out by Soles, that certain urbanistic features of the palace (orientation, and form, particularly) had been manipulated to permit the visual perception of the peak where rites were culminating (Ch. 18).

Objects and material culture studies are presented in chapters 13 (Peter Warren), 14 (collectively written by Jerolyn Morrison, Eleni Nodarou, and Joanne Cutler), 15 (Tristan Carter), and 17 (Evi Sikla). These contributions offer views of Neopalatial social realities by providing some new insights into the use, consumption, and trade of specific commodities, which are the products of specific behaviours and social movements, beliefs and historical trends, norms, and changes. In detail, Warren discusses a type of vase (a fine painted ware with a pedestal base topped by a dome perforated by slits) of which the intended function(s) appear(s) as enigmatic, and explores different use possibilities, that might have been plural considering the slightly different features of each examples preserved. No definitive conclusions are attempted. Morrison *et al*. then analysed sixteen vases and loomweights discovered in the settlement of Mochlos (from different locations within it) in an excellent discussion involving petrographic studies. Combining with stylistic and geochemical analyses, and in correlation with previous thin section petrographic analyses of material from the Southeast Aegean (within a project called "the Serraglio, Eleona, and Langada Archaeological Project", led by two foremost scholars of the Mediterranean world, Toula Marketou and Salvatore Vitale), the study most importantly reveals connections with the island of Kos, hinting at the possibility of a "presence of permanent or temporary female migrants from the Southeast Aegean" at Mochlos (p. 168). Exchange dynamics of the population of Mochlos are further wonderfully illustrated in Carter's study of the obsidian trade. Based on geochemical techniques, the author reconstructs a system of long-exchange trade between Crete and the Dodecanese - and more specifically the island of Giali, where the obsidian artifacts (mostly flakes and chunks) under the present study come from -, involving numbers of interconnected communities from Rhodes and Anatolia that were part of this specific obsidian network. The notable absence of Mainland Greece coastal sites on the excellent Giali obsidian artifacts distribution map (fig. 15.1) may indicate how promising further analysis would be for a comprehensive view of this volcanic-glass stone overseas trade.

A strong assumption is then made by Evi Sikla about the Egyptian origin of the Minoan sistrum, a musical instrument used in Egypt in Hathor worship - which is an ancient hypothesis but has been challenged in favour of a Levantine origin, brought to Crete, after the author, after "some Minoan visitors' direct experience of Egyptian ritual and religion in Egypt" (p. 207).

Joanne Murphy, one of the editors of this volume, focuses on faience and glass beads discovered in the area of Pylos (Messenia) (Ch. 16). This paper nicely extends some of the ideas introduced in the earlier essays and further developed in the discussions of long-distance trade and its strategic implications during the Late Bronze Age, although it is not clear, for instance, why it is included here rather than in the final section (Part V. "The Minoans and Their World"). This arrangement does not, however, detract from the potential of the study which demonstrates, firstly, the import and funerary deposit of glass and faience beads as a means of asserting power from ca. 17th to the 14th centuries BCE, and secondly, differences in distribution and context of deposition that could reflect changing attitudes and negotiation of identities towards beads across time, and, lastly, a shifting in the origin of the glass beads from Mesopotamia to Egypt between the earlier to the later examples. Particularly interesting is the exploration of their latent meanings across the wide geographical expanse of the Mediterranean, more specifically in the Near East, thought to indicate a similarity in meaning.

Finally in the third part of the volume, Malcolm H. Wiener, in "The Population and Depopulation of Late Minoan Crete" (Ch. 19), offers a fascinating study of the occupational variability of Cretan

[2] On the geographical dimension of peak sanctuaries' position, which is probably not only related to a political or territorial cause, see also Flood's contribution in Chapter 24, p. 268-269 with additional bibliographical references.

Landscape use through the Late Bronze Age, and to the Roman periods, going further than announced in the title. Using an array of evidence as a guide, such as estimations of population density of settlements and sites from previous studies (of pottery scatter, written evidence, etc.), aligned with the main events of social and cultural history of Late Bronze Age Crete, Wiener offers a dynamic picture by phase (LM I, LM II, LM IIIB-C, and "Subminoan to Roman") of the island occupation in a lively way, drawing attention to areas and settlements where changes occurred.

Melissa Eaby's "Minoan Stone Vases in Late Minoan IIIC Contexts" (Ch. 20) opens the fourth section dedicated to the *Postpalatial periods and the Iron Age*, and explores, through a case-study of stone vases, Minoan models of perception, the meaning and processing of objects, which are constantly transformed through time, all tied up with shifting contexts and other aspects of material culture. Through a series of examples linked to the discovery of stone vases (manufactured from the Prepalatial to the Neopalatial periods) in later contexts (in some cases several centuries apart), the study explores the way in which an object can transcend its functional limits to a relative meaning in each context, especially when fragmented and reused as something else. The following chapter in this part is by Geraldine C. Gesell entitled "New Thoughts on the Karphi Goddesses" (Ch. 21) in which is reconsidered, throughout an intriguing discussion about clay "Goddesses" discovered in a Temple on the peak of Karphi (close to the settlement of Malia, in the Lasithi Plain), the gender identification of five figurines based on both attire and the display of breast features. The author challenges the widespread assumption that the Karphi figurines are all female, suggesting that two of them are in fact male Gods, accompanied by "three smaller, subservient, female Goddesses". However, the use of the term "Goddess" throughout the paper and in the caption below the excellent photographs of the sculptures provided, rather than a more neutral term, and the fact that the male figures in question are not specifically indicated when the author suggests a new identification (p. 247), generate confusion, and require unnecessary effort from the reader. Leslie Preston Day ("Memory and Place in Early Iron Age Graves at Kavousi Vronda, Crete", Ch. 22) stresses the connection between the locations of graves and memory, an important phenomenon observed in the funerary landscape of Eastern Crete in the Early Iron Age, in considering the tholoi (dated to the 11th to the 8th c. BCE) and the burial enclosures (dated to the second half of the 8th c. to the late 7th c. BCE) after the abandonment of the settlement at Vronda (Kavousi). Day draws insightful scenarios about the impact of changing ritual practices and performances, and their implication in the formation of social identities.

The last, and fifth part, of the volume presents a series of engaging papers on miscellaneous topics. Philip A. Betancourt ("Mochlos and Pseira: Contrasting Economic Trajectories during the Bronze Age", Ch. 23) features a good, short comparative analysis of the local development of two nearby Minoan maritime cities, explaining cogently that the difference in socio-economic performance (visible for example through the funerary assemblages, making Mochlos a trading power) results from topography and settlement patterns, access to and use of land, and responses to climatic shifts. Betancourt also gives us a much more specific ecological understanding of territory in ancient Crete and its impact on economy and the society at various levels. Readers can preferably then turn to Floyd W. McCoy and Rhonda R. Suka's excellent contribution for continuing along the subject of the harbour zone of Mochlos and its physical environment, that radically changed since the Minoan era ("Minoan Harbors at Mochlos, Crete", Ch. 25). Through rigorous data collection using a new marine research method coming from Hawaii, a detailed in-depth examination of the geography, coastal and submarine morphology, climatological and oceanographic features (such as the frequency and intensity of storms, wave action, surface currents) of this area is conducted, followed by a discussion about the reliability of moorings and anchorages - no archaeologically evidenced dockyards having yet been found. It is more likely that port facilities existed on either side (bays) of the isthmus (now below sea level) that linked the island to the mainland, acting as a natural breakwater. In p. 293 must be read "Fig. 25.9" instead of "Figs. 25.9:b", which is an insignificant glitch compared to the excellence of the paper and its illustrations of the best quality.

In "Groundwater Geochemistry and Persistent Places of Water Ritual on Crete, Greece" (Ch. 24) Jonathan M. Flood explores the chemical quality of the body of water passing through two of the main sanctuaries in Crete, that of Psychro cave and Kato Syme sanctuary in the Dikte mountains (Eastern Crete), in a search for "traces of metals and minerals typically associated with healing or miraculous properties (e.g., arsenic, lithium, selenium, sulfur, iron)" without success, however. Instead, the analyses revealed the purity of the water. Caves, spring water have been venerated as sacred places throughout time thanks to community memory and ritual perpetuation, and the same is probably true

of centuries-old trees, as Jennifer Moody states in a subsequent chapter ("Veteran and Sacred Trees in Modern and Minoan Crete", Ch. 26). A complex reconstruction of the diversity of the ancient floral landscape of Crete is offered from botanical data and Minoan imagery, that show that trees were symbolic agents in the social world, deep-rooted in rites and rituals, of which the oldest ones (the "Veterans") might have acquired special symbolism and devotion. The selection of examples and illustrations is generous and instructive.

More unusual is Peter M. Day's ethnographic final study entitled "You Can Take the Potter Out of the Plain, but You Can't Take the Plain Out of the Potter" (Ch. 27) which introduced two itinerant patterns in Eastern Crete for the purposes of understanding potters' learning contexts and mobility, as well as their social position and status (their biography), and the way in which a potter embodies a traditional way of making a pot (the way in which he has learnt and understood it), even if his life and his different trajectories force him to adapt to new technical means. The observations are successfully tested with petrographic analyses. Perhaps it would have been helpful to offer a general framework of the particular research problems related to ceramic ethnography.

Overall, while remaining true to Jeffrey Soles' primarily concern - the Minoan world -, this *Festschrift* offers a diversity of approaches over a large array of subjects, periods and methods, and both editors are to be congratulated on producing a magnificent, well-edited and certainly coherent volume that pays a real and impressive tribute to the honorand's contribution to Aegean archaeology, providing another crucial reference point for understanding prehistoric societies.

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Yannick Boswinkel, *Labouring With Large Stones. A Study into the Investment and Impact of Construction Projects on Mycenaean Communities in Late Bronze Age Greece.* pp. 195, 44 figures (25 colour), 42 tables, 6 appendices. Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2021. ISBN 978-94-6428-010-4 (hardcover); 978-94-6428-009-8 (softcover), £40; 978-94-6428-011-1 (e-book). £120 hardcover, £40 softcover.

This study began as a PhD Dissertation, defended at Leiden in 2021, and it retains very much of that character. It is concerned essentially with a single question: did investment in large-scale projects, particularly the monumental 'Cyclopean' fortifications, overstrain the economies of the major Mycenaean centres and thus lead to the decline of Mycenaean civilisation, as has been argued by some specialists? A clearly set out series of research questions focuses on the labour costs involved in these constructions, reflected in the quantity of person-hours required, and the impact these costs would have had on 'the communities in which they were constructed' (p. 25). In summary, the questions concern how high the costs in labour were at the stages of construction; what the characteristics of the fortifications were and how this affected construction; what the costs tell us about the structure of Mycenaean society and how its wealth was distributed; and whether the construction of the monuments was a local, regional or interregional affair. These questions are considered with a concentration on two individual examples, the fortifications of Mycenae and of Teichos Dymaion in Achaea.

The first chapter after the Introduction, titled Late Bronze Age Greece, but really only about the Mycenaean world, presents fairly conventional views that are beginning to seem a bit outdated. These include the position of the palace within 'palace societies', on which once current views have been exposed to considerable revision in some recent discussions; the common tendency to assume that what can be worked out as the system of social organisation in one palace society, that controlled from Pylos, is generally applicable; and the tendency to speak of various features such as the megaron-centred palace and 'Cyclopean' fortifications as if they are typically 'Mycenaean' without qualification. Yet there is not a trace of 'Cyclopean' fortification at Pylos, to my knowledge, nor is there evidence for any kind of fortification at other important sites such as Orchomenos,